DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 341 434 JC 920 095

AUTHOR Boylan, Hunter R.; And Others
TITLE The Historical Roots of Developmental Education.
INSTITUTION Appalachian State Univ., Boone, NC. Center for Developmental Education.
PUB DATE 88
NOTE 14p.
AVAILABLE FROM Center for Developmental Education, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Serials (022) -- Historical Materials (060)
JOURNAL CIT Research in Developmental Education; v4 n4-5, v5 n3 1987,1988

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Affirmative Action; *Black Colleges; *College Preparation; College Role; Developmental Studies Programs; *Educational History; Educationally Disadvantaged; Higher Education; Private Schools; *Remedial Instruction; *Womens Education

ABSTRACT

The historical roots of developmental education are traced in a three-part article extending across three serial issues. "Educating All the Nation's People," by Hunter R. Boylan and William G. White, Jr., reviews the historical antecedents of developmental education, focusing on efforts in the 17th century to prepare English-speaking American students for college-level instruction in Latin, the expansion of opportunities for higher education in the 18th century and the concomitant growth of college preparatory programs, and the founding of colleges for women and blacks. "Historically Black Colleges and Universities: A Force in Developmental Education," by Helen Jones and Helen Richards-Smith, traces the rise of black colleges, the pioneering efforts of these colleges in academic skills development, instructional philosophy and techniques used in black colleges, and the important contributions still being made by historically black institutions. "The Historical Roots of Developmental Education," by Boylan, focuses on college preparatory programs of the 19th and 20th centuries, attempts to standardize college admission, the decline of college preparatory programs with the advent of junior colleges and selective admissions, and the resurgence of developmental education in recent years. (JMC)

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SELECTED ISSUES OF:

REVIEW OF

RESEARCH in Developmental Education

Published by Appalachian State University

ED341434

ON:

the Historical Roots of Developmental Education.

Volume 4 Issues 4,5, Volume 5 Issue 3, 1987-1988

By
Hunter Boylan

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Published by Appalachian State University *Volume 4, Issue 4, 1987*

Research In Developmental Education

Hunter R. Boylan, Editor

Educating All the Nation's People
The Historical Roots of Developmental Education
Part I

By Hunter R. Boylan and William G. White, Jr.

On most American college and university campuses developmental educators are regarded as the "newest kids on the block." To most professionals in academe, developmental programs and the students they serve are of relatively recent vintage—a phenomemon that resulted from 1960's egalitarianism and the subsequent "open door" admissions policies of public colleges and universities. College administrators, legislators, and the public believe that the problem of underpreparedness that developmental programs are designed to resolve is a recent one—one that results from all the shortcomings of American public education that a spate of recent reports has so elequently pointed out. Unfortunately, most developmental educators would probably agree with these views even though they are, for the most part, inaccurate.

A more accurate view would be that developmental education programs, and the students they serve, are not new to higher education. They have been present on college and university campuses in one form or another since the very beginnings of American higher education.

Underpreparedness is not a new problem in American higher education. Large numbers of students have been unprepared for the institutions they attended since the first American college admitted its first students.

Like many fields of endeavor in education, developmental education is not particularly new. The field of developmental education is simply the modern version of past efforts to respond to the fact that, at their point of entry, many college students are unable to succeed without some sort of special assistance. It also represents the most recent version of American higher education's long standing commitment to providing access to college for all the nation's citizens who might profit from it.

This issue of RESEARCH in DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION is devoted to an initial discussion of the historical antecedents of developmental education. It will summarize efforts to make access to college more equal and to serve those who are underprepared for college success. It is the first in a series of issues of RESEARCH in DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION to be devoted to this topic. Future issues will deal with the role of historically Black colleges in developmental education as well as more recent legislation and events with an impact on the field of developmental education. It is hoped that discussion of the historical roots of the field will help developmental educators and others understand the past, present, and future significance of developmental education as a field of endeavor within higher education.

17th Century Precedents for Developmental Education

America's first college was founded as a result of an act passed by the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. This act provided for the establishment of a college that would train clergymen for the colony "...once our present generation of ministers has passed from this Earth" ("Old Deluder Satan Act" of 1624).

The institution that was founded as a result of this act, Harvard College, did not open its doors until several years later—1636, to be exact. When it

did open, it was immediately confronted with a need for remediation among its students. This need for remediation resulted from the fact that the language in which most learned books were written was Latin. Furthermore, following the European model of the time, Latin was also the language of instruction for most courses. It is worth noting that the King James Version of the Bible was one of the first books written in iommon English so that all the citizens of England might be able to read it. And the King James Version of the Bible was not published until the early seventeenth century. Few books, particularly scholarly works, were available in any language other than Latin. Unfortunately, the learning of an academic language was not a high priority for colonists attempting to carve a homeland out of the wilderness.

Consequently, it was necessary for those who wished to attend Harvard College to study Latin before they could be successful in their studies. Harvard, therefore, provided tutors in Latin for incoming students (Brubacher and Rudy, 1976). The provision of such tutorial assistance may rightly be regarded as the first remedial education effort in North America—the earliest antecedent of developmental education in American higher education. The use of books written in Latin and the use of Latin as a language of instruction persisted well into the 18th Century in American colleges. It was not until after the American Revolution that English language texts and English language instruction became available on a widespread basis (Brubacher and Rudy, 1976). Until this happened, tutorials in Latin were a predominant feature of American colleges.

Developmental Education in the 19th Century

One of the major political and philosophical forces in the United States from the early- to mid-nineteenth century was "Jacksonian Democracy." One of its hallmarks was an appreciation of the common man combined with an effort to serve his needs and aspirations through government. The "Jacksonian Period" is generally regarded as falling between 1824 and 1848, the period between the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency and the election of Zachary Taylor—the latter marking the decline of Jacksonian ideals.

Spanning more than two decades, Jacksonian Democracy had a considerable impact on all facets of American life. During this period, suffrage was extended, the lot of workers was improved, the middle class of merchants and tradesmen grew rapidly, and education at all levels was provided to an increasing number of citizens.

One area in which educational access was expanded during this period was in higher education. In an effort to improve the lot of the common man, to provide training for merchants and tradesmen, and to expand the pool of engineering, agricultural, and scientific talent in the developing nation; new colleges were established in practically every state in the union (Van Deusen, 1966). But because education had, heretofore, been neither mandatory nor universal, there were few people available who had much prior preparation for college. Yet, if the new colleges were to remain open, they would have to collect fees from students.

It should be noted that the colleges of this period were largely self-sustaining operations. While they were sometimes funded by land sales such as those provided for by the Ohio Land Grant Act of 1802; more often than not, they were funded by private donations and student fees. This being the case, a major criterion for admission to college was the student's ability to pay his own way (the masculine gender is used here purposefully since women were not generally admitted to college in the early 19th Century). In essence, this meant that anyone who had the money to attend college was able to do so without regard to prior learning or preparation (Brubacher and Rudy, 1976).

As a result, the colleges of the time were confronted with substantial numbers of students who were unprepared to do college level work. Most efforts to respond to this problem consisted of individual tutoring of students. As enrollments grew, however, the number of individual tutors became insufficient to meet the demand. As Brier (1984) points out, many colleges had more people involved in giving and receiving tutoring than were involved in delivering and taking classes.

At the University of Wisconsin, the problem became so severe that the institution established the nation's first college preparatory department in 1849 (Brier, 1984). This department functioned in much the same way as a modern developmental education program. It provided remedial courses in reading, writing, and arithmetic to students who lacked sufficient background to succeed in more advanced college courses. The college preparatory department model was soon adopted by other institutions across the country. In fact, by 1889, more than 80 percent of the colleges and universities in the United States offered college preparatory programs (Brier, 1984).

The growth of college preparatory programs was stimulated not only by an influx of underprepared students but so also by a further expansion in the number of colleges and universities. While a combination of economic and political conditions stifled the growth of higher education in America in the years immediately preceeding the Civil War, the Morrill Act of 1862 was to stimulate another period of growth for higher education institutions following the Civil War. Furthermore, the Morrill Act (1862), or the Land Grant Act as it is commonly known, also made it clear that institutions established as a result of this act should serve "the industrial classes" of America. The act was designed not only to expand the number of qualified engineers,

agricultural, military, and business specialists, it was also designed to promote access to higher education for a greater variety of citizens.

During the latter part of the 19th Century, an unprecedented period of growth took place in the number and variety of higher education institutions. State land grant colleges were not the only institutions that expanded in number following the Civil War. Colleges for women, agricultural colleges, technical colleges, and colleges for Blacks also expanded. And, as the number and variety of institutions grew, so did the number of college students who were underprepared for college.

Women's colleges, which first appeared in the late 1830's, were an outgrowth of a great reform movement that sought legal, political, and social and educational equality for women and which was, in many ways, linked with Jacksonian Democracy. With every college of the early nineteenth century except Oberlin refusing to accept women, a number of institutions were established to cater solely to them.

Those opposed to admitting women to college argued that they were mentally unsuited for higher education. While that certainly was untrue, it was true that most women were underprepared for college because they were unable to obtain an adequate secondary education. The early women's colleges were thus forced to keep the age of admission low, and the curriculum provided was understandably more akin to secondary than higher education. The baccalaureate degrees they granted were not recognized as equal to those granted by other institutions.

The Civil War, in addition to settling a number of constitutional issues, also settled a number of social ones, including the question of whether women should attend college. Following the war, the question changed from "if" to "where?"

In the northeastern states the dominant pattern became superior, but separate, women's colleges with independent institutions such as Vasser, Wellesley, Smith, and Bryn Mawr and coordinated women's colleges affiliated with several "Ivy League" schools. But even in these efforts, preparatory schools were still necessary.

One of the earliest women's colleges, Vasser, had a college preparatory program from its very beginnings. But in spite of the fact that Vasser was founded for the purpose of including those who had previously been denied access to higher education there were those who questioned the presence of underprepared students. In fact, the question of whether or not underprepared women should be admitted at all to the institution was a major issue for the college during the late 1800's (Report to the Trustees of Vasser College, 1890). Nevertheless, Vasser continued then and continues now to admit women who have inadequate secondary preparation (Boylan, 1986).

The trend to establish separate colleges for women was not, however, a universal one. In the newer universities of the East and in colleges throughout the Western states, where coeducational secondary schools were preparing young people for college, coeducation became the pattern (Brubacher and Rudy, 1976).

The increase in the number of students going to college following the Civil War was not only the result of a democratic movement but also of a greater demand by men and women for higher training to prepare them for an increasing number of professions, trades, industries, and businesses that required specialized preparation.

Two other efforts to provide postsecondary education for students who were either uninterested in or underprepared to pursue the traditional classical/liberal arts curriculum centered in technical institutes and scientific schools. Technical institutes had first appeared in the 1820's and were the first to offer extension programs and evening courses which made higher education accessible to non-traditional students. These efforts were the precursors of the modern adult education programs.

Technical institutes were soon followed by scientific schools, established alongside a number of leading colleges, to care for "practical minded students" who in many cases were not prepared to complete the classical curriculum. And, like higher education for women, scientific schools and technical institutes faced strenuous opposition from those who wanted to preserve the integrity of the classical college curriculum (Butts, 1939). In many respects, the early technical and scientific schools faced challenges and opposition analogous to that faced by junior and community colleges in the twentieth century.

Another major precedent for developmental education was the establishment of colleges for Blacks during the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century. Following the Civil War, it was apparent that Black Americans would become part of the social, political, and economic systems of the nation. Yet the institution of slavery had systematically denied most of these citizens access to all but the most rudimentary forms of education.

In response to this, postsecondary institutions for Black Americans were established through a number of channels. The American Missionary Society set up a number of institutions in the South for the purpose of educating freed slaves (Brubacher and Rudy, 1976). The Second Morrill Act (1890) also provided for the establishment of land grant colleges for Black Americans. In addition to these, Black Americans also established several colleges through their own efforts.

All of these institutions were confronted with the enormous problem of providing the training necessary to prosper in a modern industrial society to a generation of people who had been denied ac-

cess to education in any form. In fact the contribution of historically Black colleges in delivering a massive remedial and developmental education effort has been largely ignored in the field of developmental education. For many of these institutions, their entire mission might be defined as remedial and developmental. And it should be noted that the early Black institutions were extraordinarily successful in the face of overwhelming odds. The fact that so many of the Black leaders, scientists, legislators, doctors, and attorneys of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as today, were trained at these institutions attests to their effectiveness. It could well be argued that some of the most amazing feats of developmental education were accomplished at historically Black institutions in the United States.

The next issue of RESEARCH in DEVELOPMENTAL EDUCATION in this series will focus on the rise of Black colleges during the latter part of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. This issue will discuss the role of Black colleges in higher education in general and their impact on developmental education in particular.

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Acknowledgement

This study was authored by Hunter R. Boylan and William G. White, Jr. of the Doctoral Program in Developmental Education, Grambling State University, Grambling, Louisiana, 71245.

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National Center For Developmental Education
Reich College of Education
Appalachian State University
Boone, North Carolina 28608

Research in Developmental Education is published five times per academic year.
Editor: Hunter R. Boylan
Managing Editor:
Barbara Calderwood
Consulting Editor: Milton "Bunk" Spann

Manuscripts, news items, and abstracts are accepted by the Editor, RIDE, National Center for Developmental Education, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608

Subscriptions are $9.50 per year. North Carolina residents add 38 cents sales tax; subscribers in foreign countries add $1.50/year shipping and pay by bank draft. Send subscription to Managing Editor, RIDE, at the same address or call (704) 262-3057.

Published by Appalachian State University *Volume 4, Issue 5, 1987*

Research In Developmental Education

Hunter R. Boylan, Editor

Historically Black Colleges and Universities: A Force in Developmental Education Part II

by Helen Jones and Helen Richards-Smith

It has often been stated that historically Black colleges and universities have perennially been involved in developmental education. Administrators and faculty of historically Black colleges speak quite openly of their institutions as a leading force in the field of developmental education. Black institutions have a long history of admitting students with academic deficiencies and placing emphasis on improving these students' basic skills. Unfortunately, however, there is a paucity of literature documenting the role of Black colleges in the developmental education movement. The purpose of this article is to show the linkage of developmental education, which focuses on the promotion of educational opportunity and academic skill development, to the mission, curriculum and basic educational philosophy of historically Black colleges and universities.

The Rise of Black Colleges

During the nineteenth century a rather varied and comprehensive system of higher education was developing in the United States: however, opportunities for Black participation in this system were quite limited. In fact, in the early nineteenth century it was illegal in southern states to teach slaves to read or write (Katz, 1973).

Nonetheless, important progress was being made in extending opportunities for a college education to Blacks. Two of the 104 Black colleges which still exist today were founded before the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. Wilberforce University in Ohio, established in 1856 by the Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was the first institution of higher education to be controlled by Negroes (Woodson, 1915). Ashmam Institute, now Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, was founded by the Presbyterians in 1854 (Woodson, 1915). However, it was the Emancipation Proclamation which truly stimulated the quest for educational opportunity among Blacks.

"Negro colleges" grew rapidly during Reconstruction with the help of the American Missionary Association and the Freedman's Bureau (Jencks & Riesman, 1968). The northern abolitionists and missionaries went south with the expectation of organizing colleges that would be open to all youth and which would teach the poor, both Black and White (Bond, 1934). The fact that the schools ultimately became Negro colleges was the result of external political pressure, which was racist in nature, rather than the result of the original intentions of the founders of such schools.

Until about 1914, Black higher education was mostly private education (Weinberg, 1971). Emphasis at these institutions of higher education was placed, primarily, on training ministers and teachers.

The growth of public colleges for Blacks was stimulated by the Second Morrill Act of 1890 (Brubacher & Rudy, 1976). This act specifically prohibited payment of federal funds to states which either discriminated against Negroes in admissions to their tax supported colleges or refused to provide "separate but equal" facilities for the two races (Jones, 1969). Every state with a significant Negro population chose to provide separate but equal colleges and, as a result, Black colleges expanded dramatically until the middle of the twentieth century. According to Jencks & Riesman (1968), it was not until 1945 that the growth of Black colleges began to decrease.

In brief, therefore, historically Black colleges and universities originated in a socio-political and economic climate of racism and separatism. For the most part, they had to assume

sole responsibility for the intellectual development of Blacks. Although they were open to the notion of educating all people regardless of race, creed, or nationality, they still remained segregated. Jencks & Riesman (1968) assert that they were separate only because the White colleges would not admit Black students.

Black Colleges and Developmental Education

As noted earlier in this article, historically Black colleges and universities have a solid foundation of providing educational opportunity to all—an emerging mission of developmental education. In addition, these colleges have been pioneers in their focus on academic skills development. Invariably, the curriculum of Black colleges was shaped by the same forces that brought about their birth. Prior to 1860, there was no structure for elementary or secondary education for Black children (Carnegie Commission, 1971). Former slaves, having been denied the opportunity to learn how to read, write, or participate in any formal schooling were largely illiterate or semiliterate. Under these circumstances, historically Black colleges and universities admitted these freedmen and provided a curriculum and environment that was responsive to their needs (McGrath, 1965). Understandably, most of the early Black colleges were primarily concerned with secondary education—not unlike the college preparatory programs of predominantly White institutions of the time. The historically Black colleges established primary departments where reading, writing, and mathematics could be taught. They also offered a few collegiate level courses and granted college degrees (Bond, 1934). For example, an evaluation of Lincoln University in 1915 revealed that, while courses were being offered at the secondary and collegiate levels, students in the secondary levels were "unclassified" because of their inadequate preparation for college work (Jones, 1969).

With the rise of Black high schools, however, Black colleges could concentrate more of their efforts and resources on collegiate-level work. Toward the end of the 1920's, for the first time since the beginning of the rise of Black colleges, more than half of their students were enrolled in collegiate-level work (Weinberg, 1971).

Over the years, the curriculum of Black colleges progressed from offerings in the basic skills areas to a more comprehensive system of special programming for underprepared students. Emphasis on the improvement of basic skills still exists with a variety of offerings in reading, writing, and mathematics at historially Black colleges. But these offerings have been augmented by counseling, career development, and tutoring by faculty and peers. Testing services designed to assess academic deficiencies and determine curricular placement have also been added. Regardless of whether or not historically Black colleges and universities have focused on classical, theological, teacher, industrial, vocational, agricultural, or liberal arts education, at the core, their curriculum has been carefully designed to promote the basic skills of underprepared students.

Since Reconstruction, Black colleges have fostered the American idea of universal education dedicated to ensuring freedom, social equality, and the assurance of a decent future for the underprepared who come from diverse academic backgrounds. The basic skills mission of historically Black colleges has, however, been expanded during the twentieth century with the result that their competitiveness has similarly expanded. Furthermore, the traditional mission of basic skills development has been redefined at most historically Black colleges. These institutions now provide an array of advanced graduate and undergraduate programs in a variety of fields.

Nevertheless, from the early beginnings to the present, programs and practices of Black colleges have focused on societal needs and the needs of their clients. Thus, their program designs have been unique in approaches and practices. The social, economical, and political limitations during the period when Black colleges were established (and which still persist in large measure) demand that the programs of these institutions provide for the diverse needs of students.

Instructional Philosophy and Techniques in Black Colleges

Prior to the use of highly organized assessment instruments and technology, professors in Black colleges were (and still are) aware that education for a number of Blacks requires the type of professors who can deal with a variety of deficiencies of a social, emotional and academic nature. In the past, and in the present, strategies for helping students with special needs were determined through individual contact with small groups of learners in classes. These classes featured a number of different activities that brought students and professors together in conferences, and resulted in faculty sharing and planning on the basis of student strengths and weaknesses recognized through informal contacts. Though informal in nature, the early procedures for determining needs and providing help generally followed a systematic plan. These characteristics, so common in historically Black colleges, are only now being employed widely in American higher education through developmental education programs.

The prevailing attitude in Black colleges regarding helping students with special needs was and is consistent with the current philosophy of developmental education—the philosophy that "if we do not...then who will?" Thus Black colleges continue their mission of educating the underprepared as well as well-prepared students by providing diverse curricular offerings buttressed by unique approaches and practices. They elevate the performance of students by using a variety of instructional styles, by showing deep concern for the educational and personal welfare of students, and by demanding that students do their best. They also require students to engage in activities to convince themselves that they can succeed, by letting them know that they must use as examples the spirit of great men and women, that they must be proud of their skin color, that through Black colleges and universities great leaders have been able to overcome ignorance, discrimination, poverty, and injustice. Finally, they encourage students to realize that these attitudes are fundamental to their liberation and the continued liberation of Black people (Cheek, 1985).

In Black colleges, students learn by the usual educational processes characteristic in other colleges and universities. This is true with one exception—that they learn in a concerned, caring atmosphere where each student becomes a special person—special to himself, to the college, and to the professors. This

special self-concept for students in Black colleges and universities is expressed in the words of the motto of Grambling State University, "The College Where Everybody is Somebody." The successes experienced at Black colleges and universities in educating the underprepared have been extraordinary. Students have acquired basic skills and abilities and learned the fortitude necessary to provide the nation with leaders in art, architecture, education, business, politics, law, and medicine. Fleming (1984) addressed the importance of the supportive community found at Black colleges and suggested that Black students are more likely to acquire the help they need to overcome whatever achievement-related difficulties are brought to college.

Present Day Contributions

Today, more than ever before, Black colleges and universities must be sensitive to the fact that poor academic performance causes an economic and emotional drain on the part of parents, loss of state and national dollars, failure to achieve the mission and goals of the institution, and results in a threat to national security. It is no secret, for test data give abundant evidence, that a number of students who enrolled in predominantly Black colleges (or White colleges, for that matter) have a wide range of ACT and SAT scores. All of these students, however, are potentially useful, contributing citizens whose achievement must be assured through special developmental education practices—the sort of practices that have been pioneered at historically Black institutions since the middle of the nineteenth century.

Summary and Conclusion

Historically, Black colleges and universities have undergone profound changes over the years. They not only grew in number, but their enrollment grew and the enrollment in collegiate-level courses grew with the rise of Negro high schools. In addition, most of these colleges have become fully accredited, degree granting institutions.

Regardless of these changes, Black colleges and universities have continued to fulfill the unique mission for which they were established—"to nurture the nation's Blacks"—and develop the minds of the potentially great. Out of necessity and concern they have been leaders in providing education for underprepared students even though they are colleges with few resources and limited support.

Developmental education espouses the philosophy and the practice that Black colleges have been using for over a century. No doubt their accumulated and unique experiences in providing remedial training and demonstrating effective ways of interacting with students who possess educational deficits will continue to be emulated by other institutions. In the years ahead, historians will accurately document the fact that historically Black colleges were pioneers in what is presently referred to as "developmental education."

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Acknowledgement

This study was authored by Helen Jones and Helen Richards-Smith of the Doctoral Program in Developmental Education, Grambling State University, Grambling, Louisiana, 71245.

ANNOUNCEMENT

Beginning with Volume 5, Issue 1, the name of this journal will change to RRiDE—Review of Research in Developmental Education. This revised title more accurately reflects a shift in editorial policy that accords highest priority of publication to articles providing a clear definition of some aspect (concern, area, practice, strategy, treatment) involving developmental education; presenting a thorough review of substantive research covering the topic; synthesizing and evaluating this research; and discussing the implications and applications of this research as they affect or should affect developmental and learning assistance efforts. The forthcoming Authors' Guidelines for RRiDE will discuss this change in more detail.

—Gene Kerstiens, Editor

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Research in Developmental Education is published five times per academic year.
Editor: Hunter R. Boylan
Managing Editor: Barbara Calderwood
Consulting Editor: Milton "Bunk" Spann

Manuscripts, news items, and abstracts are accepted by the Editor, RIDE, National Center for Developmental Education, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608

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REVIEW OF
RESEARCH
in Developmental Education
Hunter R. Boylan, Editor
Published by Appalachian State University *Volume 5, Issue 3, 1988*

The Historical Roots of Developmental Education

Part III

by Hunter R. Boylan

Issues four and five of Volume four, *Research in Developmental Education*, focused on the early history of the field of developmental education, the rise of the Black colleges, and their contributions to the field. This issue will address more modern efforts to provide academic and personal development services to underprepared students in American postsecondary education.

COLLEGE PREPARATORY PROGRAMS OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

The first modern developmental program was founded at the University of Wisconsin in 1849. The university's College Preparatory Program was established because the number of underprepared students on campus had increased past the point where individual tutoring could effectively respond to their needs (Brier, 1986). The College Preparatory Program was designed to provide remedial classes for groups of students who needed to develop their basic academic skills before being able to participate successfully in more advanced college courses.

The University of Wisconsin model was soon adopted by other colleges and universities in the United States. In fact, by 1889, 80 percent of the postsecondary institutions in this country had established some form of college preparatory program (Canfield, 1889). Such programs were necessary because there was little quality control in college admissions standards.

Since most colleges were funded through student tuition and fees, the major admissions requirement of the time was the ability of students to pay for their education. If you could pay the price of admission, you were automatically "college material." The situation was further complicated by the fact that no universal system of free secondary education existed at the time (Brubacher & Rudy, 1976). As a result, there were relatively few opportunities for the aspiring student to obtain the prerequisite skills necessary for college. The general practice of the time, therefore, was to attempt to build their skills through college preparatory programs. By the latter part of the 19th century, the college preparatory programs of colleges and universities fulfilled many of the same functions of today's secondary schools.

ATTEMPTS TO STANDARDIZE COLLEGE ADMISSION

Since various institutions had various levels of fiscal stability, and since access to secondary education differed widely from region to region, a substantial disparity existed among institutions in their admissions practices. By the latter part of the 19th century, this disparity was a major concern for higher education officials. This concern led to the establishment of the College Entrance Examination Board in 1890 as a means of standardizing admissions standards and practices across the country. Yet, 17 years later, the majority of students entering even the Ivy League universities still did not meet the basic admissions standards for their institutions (Feuss, 1950 as reported in Maxwell, 1979).

While the establishment of the College Entrance Examination Board was supposed to standardize the admission process, raise academic standards, and do away with the need for college preparatory programs, it failed to accomplish these objectives. The U.S. Commissioner

of Education reported in 1913 that approximately 80 percent of the colleges and universities in the country still offered college preparatory programs (Maxwell, 1979).

THE DECLINE OF COLLEGE PREPARATORY PROGRAMS

It is likely that this scenario would have continued were it not for the junior college movement of the early 20th century. The junior colleges provided an alternative to the college preparatory program by offering the equivalent of the first two years of college courses combined with a large menu of preparatory or remedial courses. Meanwhile, America's colleges and universities were becoming more financially stable at the same time that the standardized admissions tests of the College Entrance Examination Board were beginning to have an impact on the college admissions process. As a result, colleges and universities, eager to rid themselves of college preparatory programs, were happy to encourage junior colleges to provide remediation (Richardson, Martens, & Fisk, 1981).

Consequently, colleges and universities began to reduce their commitment to preparatory programs as more and more students were either attending junior colleges or being screened out through the admissions testing process. This "phasing out" of college preparatory programs was not consistent across the states, however. In 1932, for instance, the University of Minnesota established a "college division" in response to a mandate by the state legislature that all graduates of Minnesota high schools be granted admission to the university (California Postsecondary Education Commission, 1983). The University of Buffalo also established a similar program in 1936 for much the same reason (Maxwell, 1979).

By the 1940's, the college preparatory program had been largely replaced as a fixture in American higher education by junior colleges and college divisions within universities. Nevertheless, remedial and developmental education was still taking place. It was simply taking place in different locations and under different names—usually through various sorts of "college reading programs." As Enright and Kerstiens point out (1980), between 30 and 60 percent of those postsecondary institutions polled in 1942 either offered or planned to offer remedial reading and study skills programs.

One major stimulus to the continuation of remedial programs was the Veteran's Adjustment Act of 1944 providing government support for World War II veterans to attend college. The availability of government funding for college attendance encouraged large numbers of ex-servicemen to seek higher education. While colleges and universities had become more selective by the middle of the 20th century, most admissions officers preferred to admit veterans and give them a chance rather than to deny them admission. In order to accommodate the needs of veterans, most colleges and universities provided a variety of study skills and reading classes along with individual tutoring programs.

These services were not organized as college preparatory programs. They were simply services available, usually through college counseling centers or reading departments, to assist those students who needed them. It is difficult to determine if organized efforts to assist underprepared learners were phased out during the late 1950's or simply decentralized. In either case, the need for remediation continued. Maxwell (1979) notes that as many as two-thirds of all college freshmen in the 1950's lacked the reading skills necessary for success.

By the early 1960's, however, the children of the post-World War II "baby boom" were now of college age. The children of the "baby boom" swelled the ranks of college applicants dramatically. For the first time in the history of American higher education, colleges and universities were able to be highly selective in their admissions practices. They also had the luxury of a vast pool of applicants to replace any students lost through attrition.

Those who were unable to obtain admission to the four-year institution of their choice helped to expand the clientel of two-year institutions, thus providing an impetus for substantial growth in the community college movement. During the 1960's, the community and junior colleges expanded their efforts to provide remedial and developmental services while four-year institutions reduced them.

It is worth noting that most of the nation's present-day college faculty were a product of the "baby boom" and attended college during a period when admissions standards across the country were the most selective they had ever been. According to the Carnegie Commission (1980), 75 percent of the current college faculty members in America were hired between 1960 and 1970. It is altogether likely that their view of what constituted "college material" was highly influenced by their own experiences as products of an extremely competitive admissions process.

A RESURGENCE OF EFFORTS

The philosophy of "extreme selectivity" of the 1960's soon gave way to the philosophy of "open admissions" in the 1970's. As the nation focused its attention on the plight of the poor, the disadvantaged, and the non-traditional, an informal partnership was established between institutions of higher education and the federal government (Boylan, 1983). In keeping with its policy of affirmative action and educational opportunity, the federal government provided substantial sums for financial aid, special services, and minority recruitment programs under the Higher Education Act of 1965. In return, colleges and universities provided access and

training to advance those who had previously been underrepresented in higher education.

The national commitment to educational opportunity and the government's support of this commitment through financial aid and special program funding added large numbers of underprepared nontraditional students to the already growing number of underprepared traditional college applicants. To serve this increasing group of underprepared students, colleges and universities returned to the 19th and early 20th century tradition of providing college preparatory services. Whether they were called "remedial", "developmental", or "learning assistance" programs, practically all had the same mission: to help underprepared students make a successful adjustment to college.

By 1977, over 80 percent of the colleges and universities in America offered some sort of special program to assist underprepared students in their adjustment to college (Roueche & Snow, 1977). In spite of a deemphasis on educational opportunity during the 1980's, and an effort on the part of the government to renege on its earlier partnership with postsecondary education to promote affirmative action, a part of the landscape of postsecondary education still includes remedial, developmental, and learning assistance programs. In 1985, the National Center for Education Statistics reported that over 80 percent of the nation's colleges and universities still offered special programs for underprepared students (Wright & Cahalan).

It should be noted that the percentage of America's colleges and universities offering programs for underprepared students as indicated in the studies of Roueche and Snow (1977) and Wright and Calahan (1985) is the same as those offering such programs in 1889. The fact that a large number of students enter college underprepared for success in college-level studies is not a new phenomenon. Instead, it simply represents the continuation of a situation that has existed since the very earliest days of American postsecondary education. Developmental education is not new. It is simply an updated response to an on-going problem. Not everyone who attends college is prepared to do so. Programs for underprepared students respond to this problem today as they have throughout the history of American postsecondary education.

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Review of Research in Developmental Education is published five times per academic year.
Editor: Hunter R. Boylan
Managing Editor:
Barbara Calderwood
Consulting Editor: Milton "Bunk" Spann

Manuscripts, news items, and abstracts are accepted by the Editor, RRIDE, National Center for Developmental Education, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608

Subscriptions are $9.50 per year. North Carolina residents add 38 cents sales tax; subscribers in foreign countries add $1.50/year shipping and pay by bank draft. Send subscription to Managing Editor, RRIDE, at the same address or call (704) 262-3057.

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